

NOV 16 1897

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*Die Luna 7<sup>a</sup> Februarij 1697.*

It is Ordered by the Lords Spiritu-  
ally and Temporally assembled, That the Thanks of this House  
be, and are hereby given to the Lord  
Bishop of Norwich, for his Sermon  
Preach'd before this House the One and  
Thirtieth Day of January last, in the  
Abby Church; and he is hereby desired  
to Print and Publish the same.

MATTH. JOHNSON,  
Cler' Parliamentor

S E R M O N

Preach'd before the

House of Lords,

IN THE

Abby-Church at Westminster,

UPON

Monday, January 31. 1697.

By the Right Reverend Father in God,  
JOHN Lord Bishop of NORWICH.

L O N D O N:

Printed by R. R. for W. Rogers, at the Sun against  
St. Dunstan's Church in Fleetstreet. MDCXC VII.  
25. Febr. 8.

STERN

Journal of the

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*I exhort therefore, that first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for kings, and for all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty.*



Notwithstanding the Care at first, which was taken in planting the Gospel of Christ, and that the Doctrines and Precepts thereof were publish'd by Men divinely inspired, yet Errors of a dangerous nature did early creep into the Church.

Two of which are opposed by St. Paul in the Text; the one concerned the Extent of the Christian Religion; and the other related to the Subjection due to the Civil Magistrate. It was a prevailing Opinion among the Jews who were the first Convertts to Jesus Christ, That his Gospel was only to be preached to themselves; and that

the Infinite Happiness promised in it, should be limited to the People of their own Nation.

They were puff'd up with the long Course of Favours God had been pleas'd to vouchsafe unto them, and could not endure with patience to hear and think, that under the Dispensation of the Gospel, the *Gentiles* should stand on a Level with them, and become equally capable of the hopes and means of Salvation.

And as the *Epicureans* would have shut the Providence of God out of the World, so They would have confined the illustrious Manifestations of it by Jesus Christ, to the Seed of *Abraham*.

While indeed the *Jews* were under the peculiar Care of God, the Laws he made to govern them were chiefly Political, and had regard to their Publick Good and Safety as a Nation and Community, like the Civil Laws of other Countries; and Submission to them was enforced by Temporal Rewards and Punishments.

But when it pleas'd him to enact Laws which were for the Reformation of the Minds and Affections, as well as the Manners of Men, and which would not only advance their general Good in this Life, but procure their Eternal Welfare in the next, it seem'd agreeable to his boundless Goodness and Wisdom, that what he intended for the Advancement of Human Nature, and the

Repa-

Reparation of his own Image in the Souls of Men, which was defaced by *Adam's* Fall, and Man's own wilful Transgressions, should reach to all who did partake of that Nature.

And this being the highest Favour his poor revolted Creatures were capable of receiving, it was his merciful Resolution not to deny any of them the Means to obtain it.

Insomuch that the Merit of *Christ's* Death was to extend not only to the Seed of *Abraham*, but to the whole Posterity of *Adam*. That as in *Adam* all dye, even so in *Christ* shall all be made alive. 1 Cor. 15. 22.

And that God's designed Bounty by the coming of the *Messiah*, should comprehend all Nations, the *Jews* had sufficient notice from the Inspired Writers of their own Country. And I will shake all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come. Hag. 2. 7.

I will also give thee for a light to the *Gentiles*, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth. Isa. 49. 6.

And in support of this great Truth, *St. Paul* doth exhort *Timothy*, That Supplications be made for all Men: Whether *Jews* or *Gentiles*, Believers or Infidels; of what Country, of what Rank or Quality soever they be.

But the Occasion of our being at this time assembled, will not permit me longer to insist upon the Refutation of this first Mistake of the *Jewish* Christians, against which *St. Paul's* Exhortation

tation is here directed: I proceed therefore to the Consideration of the other immediately following; which was, Their Averseness to live in Subjection to the Civil Magistrate.

Their Untractableness and Disrespect to Rulers, had appeared on several occasions, especially since they were brought under the *Roman Yoke*; and may probably be in some measure imputed to a wrong Interpretation which they had put upon a Precept that God gave them by *Moses*.

Deut. 17. 15. God had required them to make no King, but of their own People. *One from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee; thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother.* This made them unwilling to submit to any Foreign Power.

It is true, while a liberty of Election continued, they were to chuse a King of their own Nation; but after God for the hardness of their hearts did suffer them to be subdued by their Neighbours, and to be carried Captive into a strange Land, it became their Duty to be subject to them who had brought them under their Power, and to conform themselves to the Laws of the Emperors and Kings who protected them.

Now *St. Paul* having some cause to suspect, since their Conversion to the Christian Religion, that they had not quitted all their Prejudices and false



false Notions about Obedience and Submission to the higher Powers, which they held under the *Mosaic* Dispensation, does in the Text exhort and desire *Timothy*, that as Prayers should be made for all kinds of Men, so chiefly, and in the first place for Kings, and all that are in Authority. In treating of which Argument, I shall endeavour to shew,

(1.) That it is not foreign to the Office of the Ministers of the Christian Church, to remind the People of their Duty to the Civil Power.

(2.) That the People are bound by the Laws of God and Nature, to pray for those in Authority, and to live in due Subjection to them.

(1.) That it is not foreign to the Office of the Ministers of the Christian Church, to remind the People of their Duty to the Civil Power.

Which Proposition may be grounded on the Exhortation of *St. Paul* to *Timothy*. The Apostle did not think it sufficient, when he writ to whole Churches, to injoyn them to render Tribute and Service to Chief Governors, and all in Authority under them; but in his Epistle to *Timothy*, who being made Bishop of *Ephesus*, was about to order and establish the Worship of God in the Assemblies of the New Christians, he does exhort and beseech him, that their Publick Service should begin with Prayers for all Men, and particularly for Kings.

And



And with equal Care and Zeal to preserve Christians from Seditious Designs and Plots against the Magistrate, in his Letter to *Titus*, by him constituted Bishop of *Crete*, he presses him to put the Churches in mind to be subject to Principalities and Powers, to obey Magistrates, to be ready to every good.

Insomuch as *Timothy* is required, That in his Office of Publick Prayer, Kings should have a principal part; and *Titus* hath order in his Sermons, to put the Hearers in mind of their Duty to the Supreme and Subordinate Powers.

Whatever therefore is declared a Duty of our Holy Religion, and is contained among the Apostolical Precepts, must not only be a Subject proper, but very necessary for Christian Ministers to explain, and seriously recommend unto the People.

There was more cause for making this Observation, which arises directly from our Text, because it hath been often objected to the Clergy, when they preach Loyalty and Submission to the Government, that they exceed the Bounds of their Office, and meddle with Matters which do not belong to them.

As if a Christian Minister could go beyond his Commission, while he contained himself within the compass of his Bible, and only published those Doctrines unto the Congregation, which our  
Lord

Lord Christ, and his Holy Apostles had taught before him. If any therefore have been worthy of blame for their Discourses on these Arguments, it must proceed from want either of Judgment, or Sincerity in their Performance.

We do not therefore pretend to excuse either those who have taught the People to speak Evil of Dignities, and would have disposed them to Mutiny and take Arms against their Sovereign Lords; or those who would persuade Governors to Rule by Arbitrary Power, and not to have respect to the Laws, and the general Good in their Administration.

Such Men indeed transgress their Commission, and Act without Integrity or Skill in both the Extremes, and ought not to be esteemed Friends, either to the Prerogative of Princes, or to the Liberty of the People. For neither the one, nor the other, can be stretched beyond the Measures of Law and Justice, without hazard of being broken.

But then this is not the only Case in which Men may betray the defects of their Understanding, or of their Honesty; seeing other Religious Matters have likewise their Extremes; and we need not seek much, or go far for a pertinent Instance.

For in the same Verse that St. Paul does bid Titus to put them in mind to be subject to Principalties,

cialities, he also requires him to exhort them to be ready to every Good Work. Now Good Works are a most noble and necessary Subject for Preachers to treat of in the Pulpit, and they hardly can compose a Sermon, without having occasion to make mention of them.

And yet some have set too high a rate even upon Good Works, and others have as much undervalued them. The *Romanists* over-rate them, while they contend they are meritorious, and that God is bound to reward those who do them; making that a Debt of his Justice, which is the effect alone of his free Grace and Mercy.

On the other hand, the *Antinomians* and *Solifidians*, as they are called, do put too low a Value on Good Works, by not allowing them, according to the ordinary Laws of the Gospel, to be necessary Ingredients of the Condition upon which the Christian man shall be justified: When yet our Saviour hath declared, that the truest Test we can give of our love of him, and the way to enter into Life, is to keep his Commandments; and St. James does pronounce, *That faith without works cannot save us.*

Wherefore to conclude this matter, Accusations and Clamour should never divert us from our Duty, but they ought to make us more diligent and exact in the manner of doing it. We proceed therefore to shew,

(2.) That

(2.) That the People are bound by the Laws of God and Nature to pray for those in Authority, and to live in due Obedience to them.

The Obligation upon Men to be Subject to Kings and Princes hath been made appear from the Holy Scripture in part already: But before I fetch further Proof from thence, it may be of advantage to this Point, to enquire what Evidence there may be for it from Reason and natural Light.

The Evidence from the Light of Nature and Reason will be strong, if it can be proved that the Original of Society is from God, and that he hath made Government necessary to Mankind, and consequently hath obliged every Man to comply with, and submit to all things necessary to uphold Rule and Discipline in Bodies Politick. In order to make which out, I shall shew,

(1.) That God hath qualified and fitted the Nature of Man for Society.

(2.) That Man has a great Love, Appetite, and Desire to Society.

(3.) That the Wants and Deficiencies, unavoidable in the present State, cannot be supplied without Society, and other Mens Assistance.

(4.) That unless Men submit to the Authority establish'd in every Society for the Government of it, no Society or Community can subsist or continue.

C

(1.) That



(1.) That God hath fitted and qualified the Nature of Man for Society, is manifest both from the Faculties of the Mind, and the Powers of the Body, wherewith he hath endowed him. Man

\* *Primum est quod cernitur in universi generis humani societate. Ejus autem vinculum est, ratio, & oratio, quæ docendo, discendo, communicando, discipulando, judicando, conciliat inter se homines, conjungitque naturali quadam societate. Cic. de Off. l. 1. p. 26.*

is furnisht with \* Reason, and Memory, and Speech, and Bodily Strength, which are so many Qualifications for the making him a sociable Creature; since they are all contrived, and may be used as well for the benefit of others, as of our selves; and Speech seems

for no other end designed, than Conversation, and the furtherance of Mutual Good.

Man by the Exercise of his Reason does discover a difference between things; that some are

\* *Τὸ πρῶτον περὶ τὰ ἅλλα ζῶα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἰδίον, ἃ μόνον ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακόν, καὶ δικαίον καὶ ἀδίκον καὶ ἄλλ' ἄλλα ἀνθρώποις ἴχεν. Arist. de Repub. l. 1. c. 2.*

\* Good, and others Evil; those things he judges Good, which will preserve and improve the Faculties and Powers of his Being; and those Evil, which have a tendency to corrupt and destroy them.

Next, by comparing his own Nature with other Mens, and observing the respects they have one to another, he concludes that what is Good or Evil for him, will be so for other Men; that what contributes to his own Safety or Destruction, in the same Circumstances will do so to theirs who have



have the like Intellectual Faculties and Corporeal Powers with himself.

Hence he advances to find out the different degrees of goodness in things, and to compute how much one Good exceeds another; and he cannot but determine that the Good which is durable, is to be prefer'd to that of short continuance; that what causes Peace and Tranquility of Mind, is more to be esteemed, than what procures freedom from Pain, and Ease of the Body; and that Goods, of every kind, are so much more valuable, as they are more diffusive.

And therefore what is good for him, and for others also, is a greater good than what is so for himself alone; and that, in proportion, every Good is still the greater, by how much the more we have benefit by it; and consequently, his Reason will engage him constantly to pursue and promote the most Universal and Publick Good, in which his own will ever be involved, before and above all others.

Moreover, Men have much help from their Memory in forming Notions of Truth and Falshood, and of the Good and Evil in things; by recalling the Times and Actions which are gone, and by recollecting what Fruits such Courses of Life did produce, and what was the gain or loss such Deeds did bring along with them. So that

in passing Judgment upon Matters in view, they may be directed not only by the Objects which at present work upon their Senses, but consult the Register of all that are past, and therefrom collect, that the same Causes will have the same Effects; and so get Instructions how, by changing the way, to attain the Good, in the pursuit whereof before they miscarried; and to escape the Evils, into which by Ignorance or Rashness they formerly had fallen.

Then lastly, By Speech, which would be of no use without Society, Men are enabled to communicate to each other not only their present Thoughts, but their former Experience; and so to arrive at the same Opinions of things, and at length to agree upon such Rules in ordinary Dealings, which they shall judge to be for the general Good.

(2.) We prove Order and Government to be ordained of God, from the great Love and Appetite all Men have for Society. Where an Appetite is universally rooted in the Nature of any kind of Beings, we can attribute so general an Effect to nothing but the Maker of those Beings. As all the Faculties of Men are fitted for mutual Intercourse, so no Desires are more constant or stronger, than those of conversing one with another.

How

How great is the Delight that arises from Virtuous Friendship ! How unspeakable the Pleasure which springs up in our Souls, from Opportunities to imitate our Glorious Lord and Maker, in doing good to great Numbers ! Actions of this kind are most agreeable to our Sense and Reason. And we cannot return Acts of Gratitude to our Friends, do Deeds of Charity to the Poor, or shew Kindness to any in their present Distress, without sweet and pleasing Reflections, and feeling the truest inward Satisfaction.

As to them who pretend to be most delighted with hiding themselves from the World, it is enough to answer, That they could not retire with safety, and freedom from fear, were they not protected by the Laws of the Community, and the Care of those who apply themselves to Publick Business ; and that their Retirement would prove very uncomfortable, had they not the Works of such Persons to entertain themselves with in their Closets, whose Company they decline abroad.

(3.) That the Deficiencies and Wants unavoidable in the present state, cannot be supplied without Society, and other Mens Assistance. No living Creatures have such need of one another as Men ; they cannot come into the World without much help ; and when in it, they know no means

to

to support themselves ; it is for a long time that their Parents provide all Necessaries for their Subsistence.

Many sudden Calamities and Disasters befall Man, which would presently make an end of him, did not his Neighbours come to his relief. He is liable to numerous Diseases which he cannot cure or prevent ; some whereof not only disorder his Blood and Spirits, but deprive him of the Use of Reason ; in which distressed Condition he owes his Life, under God, wholly to the Compassion and Care of his Friends.

Moreover, to make Men more ready to do good Offices, God hath put Passions in them, whereby they are deeply affected with the Prosperity or Misfortunes of them with whom they converse. The good success of the Affairs of their Allies, does stir up secret Joy and Pleasure in their Minds ; and the fear of any harm hapning to them, is the cause why they bring in more speedy and ample Supplies for their Deliverance out of Trouble.

But that our Passions should not transport us into any Excess hurtful to our selves or others, God hath put them under the Government of our Reason : So that any Mischief coming to us by their Unruliness, must be imputed to our own want of Care and Consideration.

More



More Reasons, was there now time, of the necessity for Men to confederate and join together in Bodies by Rules and Covenant, might be offered. Nature teaches us, that what it hath left in common, ought to be divided into shares; for while men have nothing proper to themselves, the use of things would be the occasion of perpetual Quarrels; they would ever be contending who should be the first Possessor of this or that Portion of Land, and how long they should keep Possession of it.

Infomuch that it is of absolute necessity there should be general Rules to separate and distinguish one man's Share and Propriety from another; which are what we mean by Laws: And the making an equal Division among all Parties in like Circumstances, is styled Justice: Which Virtue the \* Philosopher thinks more difficult to be practised, because it primarily has relation to the good of other men, but the rest of the Virtues to our selves.

\* Arift.  
Ethic.  
Nicom.  
l. v. c. i.

Indeed there could be no Encouragement for Man to labour and cultivate the Earth, if there were no Laws to restrain the Strong from taking by Violence, or the Weak from secretly purloining the Fruits and Products of his honest Industry; or to punish the Malicious Person, whose Spite and Ill Nature should prompt him to do a fhrewd Turn to his Neighbour. Where-



Wherefore those Savage People among whom little Government, Order, or Discipline is visible, seem to be in a state of Life not much preferable to that of the Wild Beasts of the Forest: They both spend their Time in hunting for their Food; and there is no great difference between the Huts of the one, and the Dens of the other: Nay, Birds and Beasts, by Instinct of Nature, delight to flock and herd together, and to receive some low degrees of Advantage from such imperfect Society as they are capable of by their Nature.

(4.) That unless men submit to the Authority erected and establish'd in every Society for the Government of it, no Society or Community can subsist or continue.

If the Providence of God hath so contrived the state of things, that Mankind cannot live happily in the World out of Communities or Confederate Bodies; and if Subjection to the Sovereign Power in every Community, be required absolutely to the Preservation of it; then God has made Subjection a Duty incumbent upon the Members of the Community.

The Truth of this Assertion will be more clear and evident, by considering the several things required to the Constitution of a Society or Community; which I take to be these Three.

(1.) That

(1.) That there should be Laws enacted and published for the Government of the Society. As I have shewn it to be the Dictate of Nature, that the Earth and the good things it does bring forth, should be divided among men, for upholding Peace and Order in the World, so it is plain that what Portion thereof every particular man should enjoy, must be determin'd by the Laws of the Community where he resides.

It is the Work of them who have the Legislative Power, to make Laws to describe the Property of single Persons; to try the Justice and Equity of Bargains and Contracts; to estimate the Losses and Damages men suffer one by another: By these Laws mens Labours and Service are to be rated; Rewards or Punishments are to be measured out to Persons, according as they shall advance the Welfare of the Society, or it shall receive Detriment from them. In a word, the Civil Laws do allot what Tributes and Taxes each man shall pay, to defend and preserve the Body Politick, whereof he is a Part.

(2.) It is necessary that in all Societies there should be a Chief Governor to interpret the Laws, and according to them to decide the Controversies between particular men, without Favour and Affection, or Prejudice and Hatred to any Party.

D

But

But if there was no Publick Person to expound the Laws, every Private Man might understand them in his own Sense, and make them bend to his peculiar Interest: And hence it would follow, that there would be as great and endless Strifes about the meaning of the Laws, as would have been about the several Portions of Land in a Country, before a general Division was made. And therefore it is very clear and manifest in the Third Place:

(3.) That all the Members of a Community are bound to submit to the Laws and Decrees of their Chief Governor. For neither Laws nor a Governor can constitute a Society, if private Men have Liberty not to submit to them. Of what Use would Laws be, if every one might interpret them to his own particular Advantage? To what purpose should a Governor undertake to hear Causes, if the People were not bound to stand to his Determinations? This therefore never can happen in any Place, without a Dissolution of the Government, and the bringing all things into Confusion. And Men in a State, where every one presumes a Right in himself to oppose what he dislikes, must not be thought an orderly and regulated Society, but a disjointed and lawless Multitude. Wherefore no one is to doubt, but that God who is Author of Societies, has given

ven the Supreme Rulers in every Society, a Right to so much Power as is sufficient to compel men to yield Obedience to the Laws; and that he has obliged all Persons belonging unto it, to submit to their Authority.

But now let us observe in the Revealed Will of God, what further Approbation he has given of the Sovereign Powers over Nations and Kingdoms, through his Providence settled in the World, for the Good and Welfare of Men.

When God did put the Children of *Israel* under his immediate Government, we may take notice how severely he punished those who did mutiny against the Rulers, that by his Commission acted under him. *Miriam* was smitten with the Leprosy, because she unadvisedly spoke against *Moses*. *Korah* seduced some Malecontents into an Insurrection, and the Earth opened and swallowed him and his Company for their Rebellion.

God so far countenanced the Erection of Sovereign Power over his own People the *Jews*, as to grant their Petition for a King, notwithstanding they did sin, in rejecting him, when they desired a king to judge them, like all the nations: And what is remarkable, he caused their two first Kings to come to the Throne by his special Choice and Designation.



It is also worthy of noting, That the usual Title and Stile of Kings in Holy Scripture, is, *The Anointed of the Lord*: In which he forbids the reviling of Rulers, and the cursing of the King even in our Thoughts; he declares them his Representatives; that by him they rule and decree Justice: Nay, he threatneth to pour his Judgments upon *Jerusalem*, for their revolting from the King of *Babylon*, after he had conquered their Country.

Our Saviour likewise, whose Kingdom was not of this World, was so far from designing any Alteration in the Forms of Government, and Civil Laws of Nations, that were agreeable to Reason and Morality, that he confirmed their Establishment, and did subject himself to the Supreme Authority of his own Time and Country, by ordering Tribute to be paid to *Cesar*, and in acknowledging to *Pilate*, That his Power was given him from God.

Subjection to Kings and Governors is more largely and distinctly asserted by the Apostles, who in their Divine Writings were assisted with his Holy Spirit. And to render their Precepts concerning Obedience to those who preside at the Helm, and direct and rule Kingdoms and Nations, the more effectual, they back them with strong Arguments; taken from the Profit which accrues



accrues to Societies, through their respectful and dutiful Behaviour to the Civil Authority; and from the Judgments God will bring upon Men of a rebellious and untractable Spirit.

*St. Paul* requires every Christian Soul to be subject to the Higher Powers; because those Powers are ordained of God, and because they that resist them, do resist the Ordinance of God, and by his Decree, who will maintain his own Ordinances, shall for their Sin of Resistance, receive to themselves Damnation.

*St. Peter* enjoins Christians in general to be subject to the King, who is Supreme, and to Governors that are deputed by him, for the Lord's sake, and because so is the Will of God; and both point to the Blessings and Benefits that will therefrom proceed to Men: The one says, Rulers are not a Terror to good Works, but to the Evil: And the other, That they are for the Punishment of Evil-doers, and for the Praise of them that do well.

*St. Paul* affirms, That the Magistrate is the Minister of God to thee for Good; that is, for the support of Justice, and Honesty, and Peace among Men; and that in defending the Authority of Governors, we shall include our own Quiet and Safety.

It is not unworthy of notice, when St. Paul urged the Duty of Subjection; that Nero was Emperor, one of the worst of Men; and to obviate an Objection made by some since, who had more regard to their own Will, than the Word of God; That the Primitive Christians did submit to the Authority of the Emperors, because they, being but a handful of Men, had not Force sufficient to oppose them; he adds, That they were to be subject not only for Wrath, but also for Conscience sake; that is, not only for Fear of the Emperors, who in their Rage might let loose their Armies upon them; but upon a Principle of Duty and Justice, in Consideration of the Advantage and Profit they gain by their Government.

And if we are to be Obedient to the Higher Powers for sake of Conscience, then, by Rule of Contraries, we shall contract a guilty Conscience by our Disobedience. The Sum of all is, That we ought to pray for, both in Publick and Private, to Fear, and Respect, and Honour in our Behaviour, Kings, and Princes, and other Magistrates, and to submit to their Righteous Laws and Constitutions, not only in regard they are set over us by God, and Reign by his Commission, but out of good Will to Men, who are protected in their Lives, Freedoms, and Estates, through their Authority.

How

How wide then are they from Praying seriously in the Church or Cloſet for the Proſperity of the Civil Powers, and the Bleſſing of God upon their Management of Affairs, from Reverencing and Honouring them, who ſpeak Reproachfully of their Perſons, and make it their buſineſs every where to traduce their Actions, and to incline the People to Sedition and Tumults?

The right ordering the Intereſt of a Kingdom, is matter of great difficulty, and needs the utmoſt Application, even where the Subjects have their Prince in higheſt Eſteem, and concur with him in carrying on the Work; but when bad Men by Slandering the Governors, and Cenſuring their Proceedings, whereof they commonly have but little Knowledge, do create Miſunderſtandings between them and the People, 'tis next to impoſſible things ſhould go well in a Nation. And for the moſt part, the Cure of the Faults they have detected, does not near ſo much Service to the Publick, as the Fears and Jealouſies they ſtir up, do harm.

No Government, of what Form ſoever, did ever arrive at that degree of Perfection, as to have no Slips or Errors committed in the Adminiſtration. The beſt of Kings while they carry Humanity about them, muſt have failings; neither is it to be expected, what care ſoever is taken in chuſing,  
that

that all who serve the Crown, should be both Able and Honest.

Princes are said to make that use of the Eyes and Hands of other Men, as it will be no wonder sometimes to meet with Mistakes in Matters resolved upon with the greatest Thought and Deliberation; and where they act with all diligence and sincerity, an unequal Distribution of Justice may happen, and Rewards or Punishments not exactly always follow the Merit or Demerit of Men.

They therefore must be thought to resist the Ordinance of God, and to act against the true Interest of Kingdoms and Societies, who upon Slips and Ordinary Miscarriages, and perhaps great Hardships upon some Single Persons, do attempt to change the Form of Government, and openly oppose with Violence those in Authority. For upon such rigid Terms, as appear unpracticable both to the Reason and Experience of Men, no Kingdom or State can stand. Nothing therefore but the assuming a Power to set the Laws all aside; a General Invasion of Property, and the endeavouring to destroy the Fundamental Constitutions of a Society, can break the Bands of it asunder, and leave the People at liberty to take care of themselves.

But



But this was remote from the Case of our Martyr'd Sovereign, King *Charles I.* whom there was so little Colour to charge with a Design to alter the Ancient and Legal Settlement of the Nation, and to diminish the Force of the Laws, that he seemed really persuaded they were ever on his side, and upon all Occasions did openly condemn proceeding by Absolute Power.

And in the great Point he was believed to depart farthest from the Law; it may be said in abatement of what he did himself, that he acted by the Advice of his Council, and followed the Resolution of all his Judges; Men not put into Place to serve a Turn, but of Eminent Abilities in their Profession, and hardly, in other respect, blameable for the Execution of their Trust.

How sincere he was in his Intentions to Rule by Law, we learn from the Solemn Protestation he made at a time when Success did most attend his Arms.

‘ I do promise to Almighty God, as I  
 ‘ hope for his Blessing and Protection that  
 ‘ I will to the utmost of my Power, de-  
 ‘ fend and maintain the True Reformed  
 E Protestant

King  
*Charles*  
 Works,  
 p. 435.

Protestant Religion; establish'd in the Church of England.--- And do solemnly and faithfully Promise in the sight of God, to maintain the Just Privileges and Freedoms of Parliaments, and to Govern by the known Laws of the Land, to my utmost Power.

And when I willingly fail in these Particulars, I will expect no Aid or Relief from any Man, or Protection from Heaven.

Agreeable to this Principle was his Behaviour during the time of the War. As his Courage and Firmness of Mind were Conspicuous in the Dangers of Battel, so was his Moderation in the use of Victories: He did temper his Success and the Advantages of his Sword with Mercy, and ever manifested a readiness to forgive Injuries, and to heal the Wounds and Breaches of his languishing Kingdom.

But how much his Enemies sunk below their first Golden Pretences of Reforming our Religion, and removing the Grievances of the People, we may instruct our selves both from their

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own Writers, and the sad and dismal Confusion of Church and State which followed. But when once the Superficial Zeal and Popular Fumes that act'd their New Magistracy were cool'd, and spent in them; straight every one betook himself, setting the Commonwealth behind, and his Private Ends before, to do as his own Profit led him. Then was Justice delayed, and soon after denied; Spight and Favour determin'd all. Hence Faction, thence Treachery, both at Home and in the Field; every where Wrong and Oppression; foul and horrid Deeds committed daily, or maintain'd in secret or open.

*Milton's Character of the Long Parliament*, p. 2. For the Faith which ought to have been kept as Sacred and Inviolable as any thing Holy, the Publick Faith, after infinite Summs received, and all the *Wealth* of the Church not better employ'd, but swallowed up in a Private Gulp, was not e're long sham'd to confess Bankrupt.

*Ibid.* p. 4. In their Petitions, with the things plausible, that the King was always willing to grant, they mingled still something, unto which in Honour and Conscience he could not yield. And as their Sword got ground, so did their Modesty and Sense of Duty decrease, and the Extravagancy and Unreasonableness of their Demands enlarge it self, till at length nothing less would satisfy, than the Concession of such Powers to themselves, as would subvert the Constitution of the Realm. And by these Unchristian Ways they endeavour'd to render all the well-intended Proceedings of that Excellent Prince harsh and odious unto the People, and at last brought him to the Fatal Block.

A Prince of incomparable Virtues, scarce equalled by any who have sat on Thrones, or out-done by those who have made Religion the Profession and Business of their Lives; such Piety, Temperance, Chastity, Innocent Cheerfulness and Wisdom, eminently appeared in his whole Conversation, that he made himself an Illustrious Example of Godliness and Virtue to all his Subjects. So devout and hearty a Worshipper of God, that neither his Business nor his Pleasures put by his Hours of Prayer and Attendance on Divine Service.

Temperate he was above all his Predecessors, both as to Wine and Women; taking no more of the first than might well suffice and cherish Nature; and for the last, constant to one. *Life of O. Cromwell, p. 39. Publish'd not long after his Death.*

But he never shewed himself more Great and Glorious than in his Sufferings, nor gave greater Demonstrations of his Goodness, Fortitude, Prudence, and Constancy, than when his Friends and Servants were removed, who might Advise, Aid, and Comfort him. Under his last Illegal and Inhuman Treatment, to the Hour of Death, he did not any thing misbecoming the Majesty of a Great King, or unsuitable to the Piety, Meekness, and Resignation of a good Christian.

But now we ought not to impute this Barbarous Murder to the whole People of the Realm, since of the Nobility and Gentry, much the greater



greater Number all along firmly adhered to the Interest of the King, and kept stedfast to their Duty.

No, nor to the whole Parliament which first levied War against him; for many of them seemed to have honest Intentions, though they were much misguided: And before the Members of most Publick Spirit, and greatest Reputation for their Integrity, were secluded the House of Commons, no Progress could be made therein; they having come to an Opinion, That the Points the King had conceded, were sufficient for them to proceed upon to reconcile Parties, and to establish the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom upon a good Foundation.

No, nor yet to all the Army who fought against him in the Field, for they were also garbled and pick'd; and a Faction only among them, called Agitators, who had got the Power in their hands, <sup>Here the Power</sup> of the Army I once had, was usurped by *Agitators*, the Forerunners of Confusion and Anarchy. My Commission as General, obliged me to act with Counsel; but the Arbitrary and unlimited Power of this Council, would act without a General: And all I could do was ineffectual to oppose them; especially when the Parliament it self became divided. *Sir T. Fairfax Mem. Ib.*

— The King's Removal from *Holmby*, the sad Consequences whereof fill my heart with Grief in the remembrance of them, as they did then with Care how to prevent them. *Id. Ib.*

did

To prepare a Way to this Work, this Agitating Council did first intend to remove all out of the Parliament who were like to oppose them; and carried it on with such Secrecy, as I had not the least Intimation of it till it was done. *Sir Thomas Fairfax's Memorial, written by himself. MSS.*

did go through with, and perpetrate this horrid Wickedness.

Concerning which, a Person of the greatest Truth, Probity, Honour, and Command in the Army, affectionately declares his Sense, in these Words:

*Sir Tho. Fairfax's Mem.* My afflicted and troubled Mind for it, my earnest Endeavours to prevent it, will, I hope, sufficiently testify my abhorrence of the Fact: And what might they not do to the lower Shrubs, having thus cut down the Cedar?

Indeed there is such Testimony from Authors of great Credit, of the Insincerity and Ill Practice of many of the Roman Communion, notwithstanding they declared for the King, and rid in his Armies, that they cannot be cleared from having had some Hand in his Death: For as they had heightened and fomented the Misunderstanding of our Nation, and that under a Puritanical Dress; for which the several Fraternities of that Church have lately received Indulgences from the See of Rome, and Council of Cardinals, for to educate several of the Young Fry of the Church of Rome, who be Natives of his Majesty's Realms and Dominions, and instruct them in all manner of Tenents, contrary to the Episcopacy of the Church of England. — For which purpose above Sixty Romish Clergymen are gone, within these Two Years, out of the Monasteries of the French King's Dominions, to Preach up the Scotch Covenant. *Sir Wil. Boswell's Letter to Archbishop Laud. Archb. Usher's Letters, Append. p. 27.*

ing and Divisions between the King and People at first; so divers of them, under a Puritanical Disguise, were lifted with the Parliament Forces, and did through the Course of the War secretly blow the Flames, and push on our Ruin and Confusion; they having had it resolved in a Consult. That it was lawful to put the King to Death.

Then some of the mercifullest of the *Romanists* said, This cannot be done, unless the King dye: Upon which Argument the *Romish* Orders thus licensed, and in the Parliament Army, wrote unto their several Convents, but especially unto the *Sorbonists*, Whether it may be scrupled to make away our late Godly King and Master; who, blessed be God, had escaped their *Romish* Snares laid for him? It was return'd from the *Sorbonists*, That it was lawful for *Roman-Catholicks* to work Changes in Governments for the Mother Church's Advancement, and chiefly in an Heretical Kingdom, and so lawful to make away the King. *Archbishop Bramhal's Letter to Archbishop Usher. Usher's Let. p. 612.*

But what part soever the *Scots* had acted before in our Troubles, the Parliament of Scotland did by their Commissioners signify their utter Dislike of the Proceedings against the Sacred Person and Life of the King. And many at home, how instrumental soever they had been in the Calamities which befel the King, did earnestly, in Numbers, petition for the Preservation of his Life.

—Nor other Byas of self-ends, or respects

whatsoever, did move us thus to declare our selves, but the Conscience of the many Oaths of God, in which the Parliament, You, We, and

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the generality of the well-affected in the Kingdom, indispensibly stand bound before God, Angels, and Men, that we desire to wash our Hands, as from the Blood of all men, so especially of our Dread Sovereign, and to approve our selves innocent of all that Blood and Misery, the deposing and taking away his Majesty's Life, will in our apprehension involve us, our Posterity, and all men professing Godliness in the Three Kingdoms. We do therefore from our Souls beseech and importune you, and every one of you, as Men, Gentlemen, and Christian Soldiers, by all that can be dear to good men, as you desire to render a good Account of your Actions at the Great Day, to the Righteous Judge of Heaven and Earth, That you will forbear doing ought in the Premises.

*The humble Advice and Desires of the Ministers, Lecturers of Banbury and Brackley; Licensed Jan. 25. 1648. and the same day presented to the General and Council of War.*

*Pastores*  
*roto Gal-*  
*lie reg-*  
*no cele-*  
*berrimi,*  
*tam pri-*

The Churches of the Reformed Religion beyond Sea, preached against the abominable Wickedness designed, and condemned the Actors in Synod.

*vatim quam è suggestu, hoc facinus uno ore detestati sunt, ut verbi divini regu-*  
*lis è diametro oppositum. Et Gregeſ suos sedulo monuerunt, ut ab hoc fermento*  
*sibi caverent, neque in exemplum traberent crimen ab iis perpetratum, quos Na-*  
*tionalis nostra Synodus expresso canone pridem Proſcripſit. S. Bochart. de jure*  
*Regum, col. 1021.*

Foreign Ambassadors by their Mediation would have prevented the Commission of so crying a Sin. And the Bulk of our Nation did lament, groan, and miserably sink under the Weight of it; and performed what Right they could to the Memory of the Blessed Martyr, whose Life their united Endeavours could not save.



Inasmuch that the sharpest and most spiteful Writer against his Royal Person and Cause, having observed, that the Inimitable Virtues of the King in his calamitous and afflicted State, had made a wonderful Change in the Minds even of those who first resisted him, though in a Season too late to rescue him from the hands of the Bloody and Inexorable Men who put him to Death, could not but acknowledge,

*That they who before hated him for his Misgovernment, nay, fought against him with display'd Ban-  
ners in the Field, now applaud him, and extol him  
for the Wisest and most Religious Prince that  
lived.*

*Milton's  
Iconoclast.  
Pref.*

However, it is most certain, and ought humbly to be confess'd, if the Crimes, in a manner, of the whole Kingdom had not been great and manifold, and the Faults of all Parties had not provoked God in high measure to be displeased with us, he would not have permitted this wasting and destructive Judgment to have fallen upon our Land.

The Downfal of the Best Constituted Church in the World, the Wound to Religion, the Subversion of the Laws, the Devastation of Right and Property, the Slaughters, the Banishments, the Imprisonments which were consequent upon

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this

this Dismal Stroke, it does not behove me now to relate.

But I ought, according to the Office of the Day, to exhort you to return Thanks to Almighty God, who was graciously pleased to restore his Son King *Charles II.* to the Throne of his Father, and with him the Church and Laws to their Ancient State and Condition.

Nay, We the Sinful People of this Land, have yet more and fresh Arguments of rendring Praises and Thanksgivings to our God, who, when our Religion, Freedoms, and Laws, no long time since, were reduced to Extremity of Danger, insomuch as the whole Nation, even to a small Handful of Men, did despair of their Continuance among us, was pleased then to secure them, and work a Deliverance for us by His Excellent Majesty King *William*.

May God long preserve Him and Them unto us: May the Sense of the Divine Mercies, and the Remembrance of the great Hazards we so narrowly escaped, prevail with us all seriously to repent, and to amend our Hearts and Conversations: May a Stop be put to Irreligion, Profane-ness, and Immorality, Sins too notorious in our Countrey: May the Love of God, and of the Publick Weal, of Justice, of Honesty, of Charity, and Good Will one towards another, have  
a daily

a daily Increase among Men of all Ranks and Conditions: So that he may delight still to dwell with us, and to do us good, and be mercifully pleased to suffer us and our Posterity to abide in the Profession of the true Religion with Peace and Safety under his Protection.

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